lagers watch with interest but do not take part in the ceremony. Choosing a position without Y.'s house, the singers beat ~~out~~ the time of the marriage song used by X.'s ancestors; if the words are known they ~~xkx~~ sing them. Like the prerogative of marriage dancers, there may not be a marriage song embodied in every origin myth, ~~but~~ if X. lacks such he is usually able to borrow one make up to ~~supply~~ the deficiency. (1). The keeper of the song is stationed near the singers, ready to prompt them with the words or tune; if the singers are ignorant of the song it is the duty of the keeper to teach it to them. Meanwhile the dancers are performing on the side-walk outside Y.'s house. Each uses whatever type of dance he chooses, kusiut, s!saok, a'ɬlk or even shaman's, but all dance simultaneously, though without paying greater attention to each other than is necessary to avoid collisions. The professional droners accompany the singing with their high-pitched quavering ~~drone-like tone~~.

Meanwhile Y.'s father, surrounded by his relatives and friends, ~~are~~ waiting in readiness within their house. Y. herself is present, taking as inconspicuous a part as X. does in the whole affair. As the singers start the marriage song, some of X.'s relatives carry into Y.'s house a part of the goods which X.'s relatives have amassed for the occasion, ~~and~~ deposit them on the floor near the door, and then withdraw. These goods are said, "to sweep the house." Long ago they are said to have been of great value, though ~~xkxprsxmxt~~ nowadays small presents are considered ample. Any member of Y.'s family can accept the present by picking it from the floor, but as it is incumbent on the recipient to return the gift with something ~~goods~~ of greater value, unless he wishes to sink in popular esteem, it sometimes happens that no one wishes to do so. It is true that by a lavish return the recipient is able to demonstrate his chief-like generosity, but sometimes this is most inconvenient. Should none of his relatives appear willing to do so, it devolves on Y.'s father to accept the present.

When the marriage song has ended, X.'s father gives to some strong youth a numb-

(1). The origin of marriage songs has been described in Chaper V. They are less strongly preserved as prerogatives than most elements of origin myths; in fact some ~~infaxmmtx~~ keepers of the songs are willing to perform at any wedding, although ~~the writer believes this to~~ this may be a modern development. The keeper, either man or woman, is chosen by the senior members of the ancestral family, after discussion with the singers. It is his duty to remember text and tune, and the only pecuniary advantage is from the presents made by those to whom he teaches it. Some songs have words, others only a tune. The text of a song brought down by Älquntäm to Snuti·tl is:--

"Hello, Sinxälotla! We do as we have done before. Please make good the path for those who are about to marry." Älquntäm obtained this song from his heavenly name-

take and used (?) at his own marriage; as this was a descendant's first such event.

er of narrow strips of goat-skin with the wool still attached. Carrying these in one hand the youth runs up and down the side-walk, waving his arms, and at intervals throwing one of the strips up into the air ~~and~~ away from him. All the younger people of the village ~~are running after~~ pursue him, and a wild scramble takes place for each ~~ensues at each throwing of~~ strip. Sometimes, instead of running up and down, the youth goes to a clear space near Y.'s house, and there throws up the x sections of skin to be struggled for by the throng surrounding him. Only the sons of important chiefs are prohibited from seeking the strips, since this is thought to be beneath their dignity. It is an animated scene, and one in which the participants thoroughly enjoy themselves. The heralds have the right to ~~seize~~ ask any ~~chief's son and demand~~ dancer for his clothing. If Unless the ~~boy~~ is willing to ~~have this taken from him, his fa~~ lose this, he her must give a present to the ~~herald~~ one who has demanded it. This is a constant source of amusement to the on-lookers. ~~The writer could obtain no explanation~~ Nothing is known of the origin or meaning of the wholesale giving away of strips of goat-skin, nor why the heralds should be able to demand clothing on this occasion.

"It has always been done", the Bella Coola say simply.

When the noise has somewhat subsided, the singers again beat out the time of the marriage song, and again the dancers begin to ~~dance~~ perform. Y.'s father ~~now~~ then sends out one of his male relatives, with presents, "to stop the dance". The bearer gives a present to one of the dancers, who ceases his gyrations, then to a second, a third, and ~~so on until each has been stopped. These presents are non-returnable; in fact, they are rewards for adding to the dignity of the occasion.~~ If Y's father is not wealthy, he although the recipient may dispense with presents to the dancers, who before long ~~stop~~ cease ~~within~~ of their own accord. When the song is finished, more strips of goat-skin are thrown out in the manner already described. Then the song is sung for the third time, accompanied by the dancers who have not been "stopped" by the receipt of gifts. Again Y.'s father's friend brings out presents, ~~and~~ to "stop" more of the dancers. After another disposal of goat-skin, and a fourth singing, all the dancers have been stopped, Care is taken that at least one dancer is left to accompany the fourth singing of the song.

X.'s relatives now send in valuable presents to Y., her father, ~~her~~ mother, and

~~1225~~

~~the~~ other relatives, ~~and~~ also to those who wish to associate themselves with Y.'s father in the marriage transaction, prompted by kindly feelings towards him, or, it may be, through a desire to display their wealth and importance publicly. The number of these individuals has been ~~transmitted~~ communicated secretly to X.'s father, who is thus able to send ~~one~~ a present to each, such as a canoe, a slave, a marten, lynx or goat skin blanket, or some equally treasured object. These presents are called "weapons of war", since the assumption is that X. is acting like a warrior in taking something of value from Y.'s family. At the same time the goods which Y.'s father has given ~~gets~~ to stop the dancers are returned to him unostentatiously.

Y.'s father now invites X.'s party into his house by calling out,

"Oup winao, oup stătăltăux." "Enter you war-party, enter ye chiefs."

They ~~go~~ into the house and sit in a group in the place of honour behind the fire. Some of the other villagers may crowd in to watch, ~~taking places~~ remaining near the front door, but ~~taking~~ have no part in the proceedings. Y.'s father superintends a distribution of food to ~~them~~ his guests, sometimes a lavish feast, at other times a small meal, depending on the food supply and the time of year.

Frequently, though not always, Y.'s father may wish to give X. one of his ancestral names on this occasion. If so, an eloquent speaker now gives the outlines of the myth in which the name is embodied, and announces that henceforth it is X.'s name. This designation is at once adopted and he is ~~spoken of~~ called by it for the rest of the ceremony. Occasionally, X. will receive several names, perhaps from different myths belonging to the different ancestral families of which Y. is a member; ~~or~~ or her father may grant ~~M~~ X. the especial use of some hunting-ground, although with the marriage he naturally has the right to use ~~any ground to which he~~ all belong to his bride's ancestral family. S sook, rarely, and kusiut, more frequently, prerogatives may likewise be transmitted ~~sometimes~~ at this time, though ~~sometimes~~ they are never expounded, since some who are not members of these two societies may be present. X.'s family may desire to give some ancient name to Y., and if so the procedure is the same as that just as described.

It is necessary at this point to interrupt the ritual of marriage to describe ~~rather~~ more fully than was done in the previous section the status of names ~~transferred~~ transferred by marriage. As has been mentioned, such may be given when the engagement is

announced, at the actual wedding, or, as will later be described, when the wife is re-bought from her husband. A transference from the family of X. to the family of Y. is only made as a mark of respect and friendly feelings, but a transference in the opposite direction is necessary to establish the children on a firm footing. Accordingly, it is often delayed until after their birth, at a time when Y. rebuys herself from her husband. A name transferred at the wedding itself becomes the legal property of the recipient, but does not become the property of his ancestral family, since it cannot be passed on except to a child of X. and Y. If no children are born, it is felt that the name has become practically dormant and so that it can be revived by a member of the donor's ancestral family. Thus the names appear almost as potential names for the offspring. Thus it is virtually held in readiness for X.'s and Y.'s children, though literally this is not the case, since meanwhile it belongs to some individual. A sentiment which enters into a transaction of this kind is that, by the presentation of a name to some member of the family of the other partner, is shown confidence and trustfulness that it will be duly honoured by bestowal on the children of the couple. Indeed, some parents do no more than promise that if a grandchild be born they will give him a certain name, if a boy, and another if a girl so that henceforth no one can take it for himself, even though it is not in use. As already mentioned, even when a name has duly passed to one of the children, it can be recalled in future generations by a return marriage. The bestowal of names, or the promising of them for children yet unborn, is perhaps the most binding feature of the whole rite. Finally, mythology contains instances in which names, and other prerogatives, have been given away outright. Cases are cited by the Bella Coola where a father has given hunting-ground outright for the use of the relatives of his daughter-in-law; to be f "food" for them. But of course it is usual merely to promise the use of them to the grandchildren.

Since the transference of names, or other prerogatives, is the foundation-stone of the Bella Coola marriage, it is necessary still further to digress in an attempt to analyse the concepts at the base of the transaction. If the contracting parties are members of different ancestral families, or even of different

branches of the same family, there is a feeling of strain and unpleasantness at the intimate relations into which they are brought. There is a conflict of desires; on the one hand ~~the wish~~ to keep the family prerogatives from going afield, on the other, a wish that they should go afield to show the respect they feel for the bride or bridegroom. If children result, the matter is simple, since they are equally the members of the ancestral families of mother and father and form a bond which draws the two social units into the closest ~~kind~~ community of interest. Return marriages will then be sought by successive generations, until the prerogatives of the two families become so closely interwoven that a child will, indeed, be born into the ~~closely related~~ related ranks of ancestors from both parents. But when there are no children the matter is complicated, since the recipients of names not infrequently try to keep them unjustly. ~~Indeed,~~ They may do so with the best intentions, feeling that it would be a slight to the donors to return them. Bella Coola etiquette is not sufficiently ~~exact~~ exact to stipulate what must be done; ~~in fact,~~ and it often seems that trouble follows in either case. If the name is not returned, the donors are offended at its being kept; ~~whereas~~ while if it is returned, they ~~are~~ may be offended that it has not been kept.

The following specific examples will help to explain this rather complex point.

Not many years ago the sister of ~~one of my informants~~ a man now living was married to a Bella Coola ~~man~~, At the wedding her father being dead, ~~for her father was dead,~~ her brother expounded one of ~~her~~ the family's origin myths, and she took ~~it~~ a name from it. It was said to have been "hauled across", the word used being the same as ~~employing for~~ that signifying the dragging of a heavy timber, ~~and the significance, of course, was to~~ suggesting the importance and dignity of the name in question. On two later occasions the woman's family gave valuable presents to the man's, thus doing their part to cement the union, ~~the~~ or strength which comes to both families by an interchange of presents ~~to~~ marking the dignity of marriage, in fact, ~~the~~ its basic principle ~~of marriage.~~ Unfortunately, no children resulted. If the husband had wished to ~~maintain~~ retain these names for his own family, he should have arranged a further marriage between one of his relatives, and ~~a relative~~ one of his wife's, ~~and so~~ to returned the value of ~~the~~ gifts ~~which~~ he had received. He did not do so, and thus lost all legal claim to the names in question. None the

(whom she was not related.)

~~1858~~

less, he was indignant when ~~one~~ his wife's brother duly validated one of these names for himself at a potlatch, as if it had been dormant.

The accompanying diagram-pedigree shows another instance of the same kind. Smaoán's daughter, Sn̓ut̓känäls,

Was married to Ninit̓aamlaix, and at the wedding her father promised ~~the~~ his name for any ~~resultant children~~ offspring. No children were born, and but Ninit̓aamlaix illegally used the ~~name~~ designation, Smaoán, for King George, his son by another wife. This naturally incensed the relatives of the first Smaoán, especially as the debt could not be adjusted by the marriage of one of Ninit̓aamlaix's daughters to one of their family, since there were no daughters. To make matters worse, King George passed the name to his son, Jack King George, and again there were no daughters to readjust the debt. Finally, Jack King George married Qwak̓t̓, a relative of the first Smaoán, without the usual lengthy period of engagement, and while she was still conceded for the year that follows puberty. No children resulted, by which ~~the~~ part of the debt could have been repaid. Thus, not only did Jack King George violate the customary ideas of decency, ~~but~~ in the course of three generations ~~they obtained~~ two women were obtained from the Smaoán family without any recompense. Bitter feelings arose, ~~between the two families~~, and a few years ago one of the descendants of the first Smaoán took the name for himself at a potlatch as if it had been dormant, thus arousing the ire of Jack King George. In 1915 two female relatives of his ~~of Jack King George~~ were murdered at Kinsquit. The slayer was never detected, but most of the ~~Indians~~ Bella Coola believe that it was done by one of Smaoán's relatives, and that the dispute about names was quite sufficient to furnish excuse for the deed.

It is hoped that these two instances will serve to ~~explain~~ emphasize why the Bella Coola prefer marriages within the ranks of the ancestral family. When this takes place, names ~~sometimes~~ given are usually given outright, and not merely promised for the use of the future children.

After this digression, ~~me~~ to return to the marriage of X. and ~~X.~~ Y.:-- It will be re-

membered that the ceremony is taking place in the house of Y.'s father, and that the parents of each participant have ~~xxx~~ expounded portions of their origin myths, and promised names for the resultant children.

Then Y.'s relatives give valuable presents to X.'s family, in each case including those who are associating themselves with the contract. These presents are of considerable value, canoes, slaves, blankets, and so forth; they are said to be "bed covering" for Y. The greater their value, the greater her prestige. ~~Yxkxfxkhxxxxxkx~~ Her father asks a fluent chief to address the assemblage, ~~speakingx~~ as though he were Y. He says in effect:—

"My father, my mother, my brothers, my uncles, and their associates have given me my bed covering."

These presents are the binding feature of the wedding. They are said to lock the girl in her ~~husx~~band's house, and accordingly are sometimes called, "rope fastenings." This is only done when a woman is ~~first~~ married for the first time.

Another orator now holds forth on behalf of Y.'s father:—

"What we do to-day is no small matter. We have done to-day what was done in the days of yore, and what shall be done in the future."

One of Y.'s relatives now whispers to X.'s father that it is time to lead away the bride. One of X.'s party, either man or woman, comes ~~forwardxxxx~~, takes Y. by the hand and ~~leads~~ guides her to a place among X.'s people, close to X. himself. ~~X.'s~~ Y.'s father gives the ~~leader~~ conductor presents, which are not returnable. Without further ceremony, X.'s party returns to his house, taking the bride with them. She and X. usually sit close together for the rest of the rite, but their actions are really of slight importance.

Perhaps an hour or so after the return from Y.'s house, a messenger is sent to invite her father and other relatives to X.'s house. The guests seat themselves behind the fire, and a number of others crowd into watch and listen. X. and Y. are both present, but do not take any leading part in the ceremony. A large amount of food is given ~~to them~~ to the guests, provided of course by X.'s father, and as they are eating they are often given a few presents, ~~which are~~ termed "food". Then an ~~fluent~~ eloquent chief expounds in lofty style the manner in which ~~XXX~~ X.'s ancestors were married in the days of antiquity. As soon as his speech is ended, X.'s father gives presents to Y.'s rela-